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SEVEN ARTICLES  
ON  
LONDON PAUPERISM  
AND ITS RELATIONS WITH  
THE LABOUR MARKET

PUBLISHED IN

*'THE PAROCHIAL CRITIC AND  
WEEKLY RECORD OF METROPOLITAN ORGANISATIONS'*

IN JULY AND AUGUST 1870

BY

SIR CHARLES TREVELYAN

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# SEVEN ARTICLES

## ON

# LONDON PAUPERISM.

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### I.

A REMARKABLE PROOF has lately occurred of the extent to which metropolitan pauperism, that is, physical and moral degradation, has proceeded. As the spring advanced it became known at the Council of the Charity Organisation Society, that a new demand for labour had sprung up in the North. For instance, Mr. Palmer, of the Jarrow Works, was ready to take any number of boiler-makers, which is the name by which the skilled workmen employed in building iron ships are known; and Mr. Nelson, the contractor for the Team Valley Extension Railway, wanted unskilled labourers who could handle the pick and spade. Here, at least, a vein of pure gold had been struck. The boiler-makers were the very class of workmen who had thrown themselves, and the much larger number of unskilled labourers dependent upon them, out of employ a few years before on the Thames; and any poor fellow who could trundle a barrow would now have an opportunity of earning 18s. or 20s. a week. A considerable number of both classes of workmen were accordingly helped to transfer themselves from the banks of the Thames to those of the Tees and the Tyne.

But many weeks had not passed before rumours began to circulate that many of these men were tramping back to London through the casual wards of the provincial workhouses. Mr. Nelson was applied to for information, and his



answer threw the first clear light upon this painful subject: 'I scarcely know how to reply to your letter. I certainly do want men very much, but really such as have already come are of no possible use, and I had much rather they had not come. They do not seem to have been accustomed to hard work, and are not worth two shillings a day to me. I intend to write to other gentlemen who have sent me men to the same effect. I have been obliged to pay off some this afternoon, as they will not work; and since I have been writing this letter I have received a note from a friend, brought by two Londoners, requesting me to give them work if possible, as they were *unable* to do the work he required, that is, filling coke into trucks. Should any good labourers or excavators come I shall be glad to employ them, and pay them whatever wages I find them worth, the same as I do to other men.'

And Mr. Charles S. Smith, Secretary to the Charity Organisation Society at Newcastle-on-Tyne, writes: 'I regret exceedingly to inform you that, while I find that there are nearly 3,000 men required in the next six months, nearly every employer refuses to receive London men. Messrs. Strakers and Love say they have had men from London—32 of them—of whom only three or four were worth anything. Mr. Langdale, who will require about 300 men at the end of the year, writes:—"It will be no use sending men from the Thames or similar places, whose constitutions are broken, and the men enfeebled by dissipation and excesses of all kinds." It is very evident from these and similar remarks, that any attempts to supply our labour market from the Metropolis will be attended with very considerable difficulty—difficulty which I am afraid will prove insurmountable unless *every* man sent to the North is carefully selected by a practical person accustomed to employ workmen. Mr. J. W. Pease, M.P. for South Durham, points out that this is the great difficulty; and success will result according to our skill in surmounting it. Every one of his men (300 in number) was carefully picked by those who knew what the work was, and what kind of labourers were required. I am applied to for labourers from Buckingham, Bedford, and the country districts—men from these parts having turned out well when Londoners have failed.'

All this was in reply to a circular which Mr. Smith issued to employers of labour, from the answers to which it appears that an unlimited number of hands are required, at rates of



wages varying from 3s. to 3s. 6d. a day for quarrying and piling, to from 40s. to 50s. a week for puddling.

The case is even worse than this. A friend, whose life is devoted to the best interests of the Metropolis, writes:—‘I have reason to know that even London employers do not like or use London men. A large brewer told me some time ago a fact which struck me very much. He said, ‘we *never* take a London man. If a man in our employ is ill and has to leave us, we get his place filled up from the country. We are afraid of London men. They are shuffling, lazy, and know too much.’ Mr. Nelson’s letter attests that the change of place does not change the man; that he is as useless at Sunderland as in London. It is partly a moral and partly a physical deficiency, each acting to the increase of each.

If this be the condition of our able-bodied men in London, what must be the case of the inferior population! Unfortunately, it cannot be said that indiscriminate charity and outdoor relief, idleness and mendicancy, the gin palace and the brothel have done their worst. Social, as well as physical, evils have a tendency to increase so long as they remain untouched at root. What the Americans call the ‘dependent,’ and the Scotch the ‘lapsed’ class is singularly prolific; and while the profits of mendicancy are greater than those of honest industry, the recruits attracted from the other classes will be more numerous even than those arising from internal growth. Limiting our view, for the present, to children, the estimate of 100,000 of the pauper neglected class in the Metropolis is no loose conjecture. Besides 10,615 orphan and deserted children in the Workhouses and District Schools, there are 56,540 children on the outdoor relief list; and the large number supported by casual charity, and by various street employments of a more or less questionable kind, are in addition to these. What a seedplot is this of future pauperism and crime! The increase in the Metropolitan Poor Law expenditure in the last five years is 509,000*l.*, or 56 per cent. upon the previous expenditure, while the highest increase elsewhere has been 23 per cent. in the South-eastern counties.

In this state of things the Metropolitan Poor Rates have been, to a great extent, equalised; and the process is still in progress. It began with the charge for vagrants. Then it was extended to the salaries of officers, to schools, dispensaries, fever and small-pox hospitals, and asylums for insane paupers. And now it includes the entire cost of in-

door relief. The ratepayers in the quarters of the town inhabited by the rich are already beginning to cry out, sometimes, after the manner of our nation, in a humorous, as well as grumbling manner. By heavens! they will find it no joke if they do not bestir themselves. Instead of calling upon Hercules, they should put their own shoulders to the wheel. God never helps those who do not help themselves. The evil is not of a nature to be overcome by any namby-pamby, half-hearted action, accompanied by the usual apologies for any appearance of enthusiasm, and assurances that all that is expected is gradual progress as time and circumstances favour. The rising tide of pauperism and crime threatens to overwhelm us; and our only hope of saving the good ship is by a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull all together, after the manner of our fathers. We have to fight, not exactly for dear life, but that the lives of ourselves and our children may not be rendered burdensome by embarrassment and disgrace. The British Isles are a small country—‘a pretty little country,’ as one of our Yankee cousins said, ‘but I am always afraid of tumbling out of it.’ We can compete, neither in numbers with the great Western Republic, nor with the neighbouring great military monarchies in material force; and general and technical education, moderate wages, and frugal habits are raising formidable rivals to us even in manufacturing industry. We shall assuredly be left behind in the race, if we continue weighted with this growing pauper semi-criminal class, and shall become to Russia, Germany, and America what Holland has become to us. Our only chance is to make superior efficiency compensate for superior numbers, by turning our entire proletarian class into orderly productive workers; to make them a cause of health, and strength, and credit, instead of being a burden and disgrace; and to face the remainder of our history as an united, thriving, moral, and, barring the unavoidable casualties incident to humanity, an entirely self-supporting people. How to do this is the problem.

## II.

WE have not yet fully surveyed the difficulties of our task. When the last census was taken, in 1861, it was found that the town population of England and Wales was more, by 1,855,772, than the inhabitants of the villages and country parishes; the town population having amounted to 10,960,988, and the rural population only to 9,105,226. The difference in favour of the towns is now much greater. 'The migration of the population from country to town,' the Registrar-General writes, 'has been in active operation since the census of 1861; and the rate of increase in the town population of England and Wales has been, in many cases, so exceptionally great as to render any estimate of town population at the present time unreliable. The estimated population in the middle of 1870, in each of the twenty largest towns of the United Kingdom, is as follows. In several cases the estimate has only been arrived at after careful local enquiry.' [See Table on next page.]

This conversion of the English people from a rural to a town population, is a circumstance of grave import. If the influence of our town life was, upon the whole, salutary, we might regard it with complacency; but the ordinary seductions of great cities, aggravated by the corrupting influence of indiscriminate voluntary and legal charity, and by deteriorating sanitary conditions, have made our Metropolis a gigantic engine for depraving and degrading our population. We have seen how they become unfitted for hard work, and how this unfitness leads to the introduction of more people from the country, who are deteriorated in their turn. This state of things is at its maximum in London, but it also exists in a great degree at Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dublin, Liverpool, Manchester, Bristol, and other towns. Our urban arrangements have not kept pace with this great displacement of our population. A large proportion of our rural parishes are models of good management, the circumstances of every family being known and cared for, in the

Increase of Population. Annual Rate per cent. in the 9 years 1861-70.	Cities and Boroughs.	Area in Acres.	Estimated Population in the middle of the year 1870.	Persons to an Acre. (1870.)	Enumerated Population, 1861.
1·74	Total of twenty Towns in the United Kingdom . . . }	213,281	7,216,325	33·8	6,176,311
1·53	London . . . .	77,997	3,214,707	41·2	2,803,989
2·85	Portsmouth . . . .	9,513	122,084	12·8	94,799
·89	Norwich . . . .	7,472	81,087	10·9	74,891
1·19	Bristol . . . .	4,688	171,382	36·6	154,093
2·04	Wolverhampton . . . .	3,387	72,990	21·5	60,860
2·50	Birmingham . . . .	7,831	369,604	47·2	296,076
4·07	Leicester . . . .	3,200	97,427	30·4	68,056
1·95	Nottingham . . . .	1,996	88,888	44·5	74,693
1·72	Liverpool . . . .	5,108	517,567	101·3	443,938
1·14	Manchester . . . .	4,486	374,993	83·6	338,722
1·92	Salford . . . .	5,172	121,580	23·5	102,449
3·37	Bradford . . . .	5,590	143,197	21·7	106,218
2·54	Leeds . . . .	21,572	259,527	12·0	207,165
3·27	Sheffield . . . .	22,830	247,378	10·8	185,172
3·31	Hull . . . .	3,562	130,869	36·7	97,661
2·88	Sunderland . . . .	3,306	100,979	30·5	78,211
2·26	Newcastle-on-Tyne . . . .	5,336	133,367	25·0	109,108
·54	Edinburgh . . . .	4,427	178,970	40·4	170,444
1·89	Glasgow . . . .	5,063	468,189	92·5	395,503
·25	Dublin . . . .	9,745	321,540	33·0	314,263

manner best calculated to promote their welfare, by those who are superior to them in education and influence; but our large towns are chaos, and the population absorbed into them becomes lost to sight and responsible care.

Another element has of late years been introduced into our system, which both increases our difficulty, and renders it absolutely necessary that we should earnestly apply ourselves to the best means of overcoming it. The increased humanity of the age will not tolerate the rough wholesale way in which paupers used to be herded together in the metropolitan work-houses. There is now to be one set of asylums for the aged; another for the imbecile; infirmaries for the sick; district schools for the young; and a great extension of gratuitous out-door medical relief through the dispensaries. The imme-



diatc increase of cost arising from this is very serious, for, while the *number* of metropolitan paupers in the five years from 1864-5 to 1868-9 has risen from 100,000 to 147,000, or at the rate of 47 per cent., the *expense* has increased from 906,000*l.* to 1,415,000*l.*, or at the rate of 56 per cent. But we are far from having seen the full effect of this new development. Even now parents desert their families, and grown-up sons and daughters neglect their parents, in order to throw the burden of maintaining them upon the rates; and, as the State provides the necessary insurance against sickness and old age, the very idea of thrift has almost disappeared from this portion of our population. How much more are the ties of relationship likely to be relaxed, and the motives to frugality to be neutralised, when, by the substitution of the asylum and infirmary for the workhouse, State relief is clothed with new attractions, and is divested of a large portion of the discredit which now attaches to it! And, while the pressure on the rates has thus been increased, the resistance has been diminished by the extension of the area of rating. Instead of setting their faces like flints against additional expenditure, and easing the rates by finding employment for those who would otherwise be a burden upon them, the tendency of the guardians now is to secure for their respective districts a full share of the central fund. The Poor Law in the Metropolis has been removed from its original basis. The workhouse test and local chargeability have practically disappeared before the equalisation of the rates and the great improvement now in progress in the indoor accommodation; and it is indispensable for the safety of society, that new safeguards should be provided suited to this new state of things.

The existing pauperism is not caused by want of employment, but partly by the idle habits of the vagrant class, and partly by incapacity to work, arising from the dissolute habits of the paupers themselves or their parents. There is a small residuum of cases caused by misfortune, but this is not pauperism, but honest poverty. If this had been said last year, before we had recovered from the collapse connected with the American war and Messrs. Gurney's failure, it would not have been believed. But now it is admitted that there are scarcely any able-bodied persons in the workhouses—that is, persons who are *at this present time* able to work; while there is abundant employment, in one part or other of this small country, for the idle vagrant class, who are

most improperly maintained at the public expense in the casual wards and night refuges. There is no occasion now for concocting artificial schemes of unprofitable pauper labour, because a wholesome natural demand for productive labour at high wages has arisen, and branches of industry of great national importance are suffering for want of it. It has also become apparent that the emigration of a portion of our population would not create a gap in the labour market, which would be at once filled by those who swell the ranks of pauperism. The colonies compete with Northumberland and Durham for our insufficient stock of available-bodied labour, but they will not take our paupers, or even our idle vagrant class, who *can* work, but *will not*. This state of things is not without a parallel in other countries. There is a real pauper and vagrant class in New York and Philadelphia, although unlimited supplies of land are to be had, on the easiest possible terms, in the neighbouring Western States. More astonishing still is the pauperism in Australia, with mutton at  $1\frac{1}{2}d.$  a pound, and miners' wages at 2*l.* 5*s.* and upwards a week.

Before proceeding further, let us briefly review the conclusions at which we have arrived. The future life of England will be, in a far greater degree than heretofore, in its town population. England is becoming every year more and more like one great city; and the remaining rural districts are becoming gradually appropriated to recreation, and to providing those articles of food which cannot be brought from abroad. This great town population is afflicted with a disease called 'pauperism,' which will assuredly consume us and our children if we do not subdue it. The treatment recently applied, through the equalisation of the rates and the improvement of the in-door workhouse accommodation, however necessary in itself, will only aggravate the malady, if it is not combined with other suitable remedies. And, lastly, emigration to the colonies, and migration to other parts of the United Kingdom where there is a demand for labour, although very desirable as part of a general regimen, will not, of themselves, suffice to cure the malady. In what quarter, then, is restoration to health to be sought?



## III.

To prevent the last dreadful *consequence of destitution*—starvation—is the object of the Poor Law; but it does not aim at preventing or curing the *destitution itself*. On the contrary, destitution is encouraged by making it the sole qualification for obtaining the benefits of the Poor Law, and by requiring that every able-bodied applicant for relief shall break up his home and workshop and go into the union house with his family. The Poor Law makes no distinction between the honest industrious labourer who is suffering temporary distress from sickness or want of employment, and the habitual idler. It grievously offends against two divine institutions which lie at the foundation of human society—the law which prescribes that man shall live by labour, and that which has set men in families with all their supporting and refining influences. Parents desert their children, and children neglect their parents in order that they may transfer the burden to the rates. Nay, the Poor Law has induced among our working people a general carelessness even as regards *their own* future. As they are insured by it against all contingencies, provided only they are absolutely destitute, the great body of our working classes refuse to disqualify by frugality and prudence, and spend all they get on present indulgence, and more especially on the favourite English luxury, intoxicating drinks. Natural laws cannot be systematically violated without causing social derangements of various kinds. And, after all, cases of starvation frequently occur. Having only a bare allowance of the absolute necessities of life, and being unsustained by hope, and regarded as enemies by the poorer class of rate-payers and their representatives the relieving officers, the margin left to the widows and orphans, the aged and infirm, on the out-door list is too narrow for the proper support of human existence. But the damning fault of the Poor Law is that it does not even profess to improve the condition of the poor, so as to offer a prospect, however distant, of extin-

guishing pauperism or reducing it to a minimum. It aggravates the ulcer by prematurely skinning it over. It applies one of those palliatives, which, while they give present relief, end by stimulating the disease.

The reaction from the Poor Law system has taken the form of profuse indiscriminate charity which has completed the corruption of the lower classes of the Metropolis. Natural and Christian feeling must have a vent; and, under this powerful influence, the great wealth of London has been offered as a prey to its enormous population through the medium of innumerable charitable societies and individuals, without any attempt at territorial or individual apportionment. The consequence has been the growth of a mendicant system such as the world never before saw, the prizes of which are for the accomplished rogues, while the honest industrious poor are left to the tender mercies of the Poor Law. 'The great evil,' the present Bishop of London lately said, 'is that the money thus expended does not do the work which is required; for the money distributed by these many societies goes to those who should not have it; and those that should have it—the meritorious and suffering poor—do not get any.' Our excellent Bishop dwells on this as the crowning mischief of the system, marking the point from which a rapid downward course has taken place. 'But the evil does not end here, for the money thus bestowed, instead of relieving human misery, increases vice and beggary, for the impostors find it very easy to have different places of abode, and receive three, or four, or five families' allowances from the various agencies. It is easy to conceive that they thus have the means of obtaining larger incomes than they could receive if they were to devote themselves assiduously to the paths of honest industry. And can you conceive this going on within sight of the labouring people, among whom the impostors dwell, without deteriorating the honesty of that population? When men, honest working men, see another man, living in the same ranks of life as themselves, obtaining more comforts by idleness than they can obtain by industry, and learn, perhaps, that this is done by receiving visits from societies, they, too, are ready to follow the example, and independence is broken down. It is a sorrowful thing when a working man, among working men, finds that the wages of mendicity are better than the wages of honest industry, for he is tempted to continue the downward course, in which he tempts others; and, in nine cases out of ten,

from that downward course there is no return.' Hanging on the skirts of this vast mendicant system, and nourished by it in a thousand ways, are the 100,000 neglected children, the growing crop of future pauperism and crime, the 20,000 thieves, and the army of prostitutes, who are the cement, the incentive, and the recruiting staff of the whole.

Thus much about the nature and symptoms of the disease. We will now go straight to the remedy. The first step has been taken, by dividing London into Charity Districts continuous, as far as possible, with the Poor Law districts, in each of which a committee has been, or will shortly be, appointed, including the clergy of the district, representatives of the local charitable societies, and select men of the upper, middle, and working classes. By this simple arrangement responsibility has been secured within defined limits, and it has become possible for the managers of the local charities to consult together in reference to the cases respectively dealt with by them. Charitably disposed individuals also have, in these committees, a trustworthy agency for giving their alms after the merits of each case, and the best modes of relieving it, have been fully enquired into. Above all, cordial and effective co-operation may now take place between charity and Poor Law, on the principle that, while, on the one hand, each of these agencies will be entirely responsible for their respective classes of cases, and there will be no supplementing of Poor Law relief by charity, or of charity by Poor Law relief; on the other hand, there will be an unlimited exchange of information, and the cases themselves will be freely transferred from one to the other accordingly as they appear to be better suited for legal or charitable relief. The guardians have already consented to increase the out-door allowances in several instances in which the district committees have called their attention to the inadequacy of the previous rates; and the committees have taken numerous cases in hand which must otherwise have been dealt with under the Poor Law rules, however inapplicable these may have been.

The next step is, that the six or seven metropolitan relief associations, which compete with each other and with the district committees, should merge in those committees, as they become fully constituted. Now that a responsible local machinery has been established of a far more efficient kind than any which is possessed by these roving societies, there is no longer any excuse for their expensive separate

establishments. In dealing with three and a half millions of people, unity, simplicity, strength, and economy are indispensable. We have neither money nor energy to spare for the conflicting, perplexing action of such a multiplicity of agencies, all of which have the same object in view. These remarks, however, only apply to ordinary relief societies. Industrial schools, reformatories, penitentiaries, homes for restoring to active useful life persons who have been overtaken by misfortune, and the entire class of hospitals and asylums for persons afflicted with the various evils flesh is heir to, stand on a different footing. Without being necessarily local, they are so definite in their object and plan, that there ought to be no overlapping among them; and the district committees can co-operate with them all by transferring to them cases suited to their respective objects.

But a single committee, with its paid charity agent, is utterly unequal to effect any permanent improvement in a district with a population as large as Edinburgh or Bristol. For its effective management, the district should be apportioned among sub-committees, each of which should be responsible for a section conterminous with a relieving officer's charge; and the sections should again be subdivided among special visitors, each of whom should have about ten ordinary visitors under him, until we arrive at the unit of a visitor for every ten or twelve families requiring regular attention. By no machinery short of this can the pauperism and vice of this great Metropolis be grappled with. Hitherto, instead of operating upon the sources of supply, we have contented ourselves with dipping a few ladlefuls out of the contaminated pool. We have reaped a bundle of tares here and there, but have left the seed to produce future crops. It is not money that is wanted. Half of what is now spent in corrupting our metropolitan population would, if properly laid out, suffice to relieve them in a manner which would permanently improve their condition. What is required is a thorough acquaintance with the character and wants of the poor. The object is 'to befriend, aid, and elevate the suffering and struggling poor, by sympathy, counsel, and material help; to discourage idleness, improvidence, and drunkenness; to repress mendicancy, and expose imposition; to urge school attendance; promote cleanliness of person and dwelling; enforce, through the proper authorities, the removal of nuisances; and, generally, by timely and judicious



advice and help, to endeavour to prevent temporary destitution from lapsing into permanent pauperism, and in every way to foster a spirit of independence and self-support; and, I would add, to strengthen the obligation of every family tie, and especially of that which should bind parents and children together.

If the rich, the educated, and the influential can be brought into close and friendly connection with the poor and ignorant, everything else will follow. Our statute book abounds with benevolent laws for improving the dwellings of the poor, and providing them with proper drainage, water supply, and ventilation; and now we have added an enactment empowering a Metropolitan School Board to compel the attendance of children at school. What a mockery all this will be if some machinery is not set up by which practical effect can be given to it! Take the juvenile proletaire swarm, including the entire Street Arab class. How can they be dealt with otherwise than individually—each boy and girl by themselves, so as to train them in the manner best suited to their age, character, and parentage (if they are still dependent upon their parents)? And how can this be done by any multiplication of the regular force of paid charity and relieving officers, without the support of a volunteer army? Regarded in the mass, metropolitan pauperism is appalling; but organise it in detail, by bringing it into due relation to the astonishing amount of intelligent benevolent energy which exists in the Metropolis, and the difficulty vanishes. The publications described below,\* which are to be had at the office of the Charity Organisation Society at No. 15 Buckingham Street, Strand, contain all that can be said upon the subject. Only one indispensable caution should be repeated. Things are capable of abuse in proportion to their intrinsic excellence; and if gushing, unreasoning benevolence entered without

\* Address on the 'Systematic Visitation of the Poor in their own Homes an Indispensable Basis of an Effective System of Charity,' delivered by Sir Charles Trevelyan on June 27, 1870, at a conference of the Charity Organisation Society.

Report of a Sub-Committee of the Society on House-to-House Visitation adopted by the Council, July 18, 1870.

The two preceding papers, bound together, have been published by Bell & Daldy, York Street, Covent Garden, price Sixpence.

Three letters from Sir Charles Trevelyan to *The Times* on London Pauperism, with the leading article upon them, and extracts from 'How to relieve the poor of Edinburgh and other great cities, without increasing Pauperism: a tried, successful, and economical plan, 1867,' and from the 'Report on the Condition of the Poorer Classes of Edinburgh, and of their Dwellings, Neighbourhoods, and Families, 1868.'

This is to be had from Messrs. Longman, price One Shilling.

control into the house-to-house visiting system, our last state would be worse than our first. Two safeguards are necessary for our security: first, that the visitors should, on no account, give, even at their own expense, any relief, without the previous sanction of their sub-committees; and, secondly, that ordinary visitors should act in all difficult and doubtful cases, and in every case where relief appears to be required, with more experienced persons selected for the purpose under the designation of Special Visitors.

It may be asked what all this will grow to? My answer is, 'I do not wish to see the distant scene: one step enough for me,' *provided that step be a sure one.* If the action, both of charity and Poor law, is based upon a detailed knowledge of the different cases, and out-door relief becomes at once more adequate and more discriminating, the whole being directed expressly with a view to the permanent improvement of the condition of the poor, so as to make them self-respecting and self-supporting, it may grow at last to this—that, 1st, the infirmaries and asylums required for a diminished proportion of sick and impotent paupers—and, 2nd, the habitual vagrants will be left entirely to official regulation; while the whole out-door relief will be entrusted to organised charity, with only such aid from the rates as will be wanted for chronic cases, which, for any reason, may not be taken into the asylums.



## IV.

ENGLAND has not yet taken in the full significance of the discussion which has been going on for the last five years between two men, who, *together*, would have had full sway over the destinies of Europe. The proposal was that Belgium and Holland should be absorbed into the two great military empires of France and Germany, and that England should be left to do her worst. Her pledged faith, her cherished policy, were to have been set at nought; and, circled by irresistible legions and impregnable harbours, she was to have had the melancholy privilege of being eaten up last. Such contumely as this could only have been based on contempt; and we know this to have been the fact. 'A mere nation of money-makers. A community divided between selfish aristocrats and abject paupers. War, under such circumstances, they know to be impossible. Give them peace and they will submit to anything.' This has been the language constantly held, not only by the world at large, but by persons of the highest position and influence.

It will be well for us if, while there is yet time, we take this to heart, and reflect whether there is solid foundation for it. The previous papers of this series, although written without any view to the political crisis, furnish to a great extent the answer. We have seen that more than half the population of England has already become an urban population, and that this proportion is annually increasing. We have also seen that the ordinary seductions of great cities, aggravated by the corrupting influence of indiscriminate voluntary and legal charity, have made our Metropolis and other principal towns gigantic engines for depraving and degrading our population. It has also been shown that this moral and physical deterioration has gone so far, that naturalised Londoners utterly fail when they are brought to the test of the ordinary hard work of the uncontaminated portion of our industrial population, and that the word is:—

‘Send us no more men from the Thames, or other similar places, whose constitutions are broken, and the men enfeebled by dissipation and excess of all kinds.’

Now let us see how this same urban population acquires itself when tried by the test of emigration. The following extracts from the ‘Toronto Globe’ and ‘Ottawa Free Press’ will suffice:—

A BAD CLASS OF EMIGRANTS.—We are sorry to observe that a large number of the emigrants being sent out to this country this season by the various emigration societies in England are not of such a class as will tend to the development of its resources, or to the moral improvement of its inhabitants. At the present time there are in the emigration shed a large number of lazy characters, who will not accept a job when offered them at a reasonable rate of remuneration, but spend their time in loafing and drinking, and it is stated that they are almost continuously engaging in most disgraceful quarrels. On Friday night a man was lying in a beastly state of intoxication in the gutter in York Street, while his wife, with an infant in her arms, jumped on his prostrate form and dared any Irish policeman to arrest her; if anyone was to take her let him be a Canadian. On Saturday morning, again, a man dragged his wife down upon the Grand Trunk Railway track, telling her he was going to kill her; and he would probably have been the cause of her death had not some bystanders interfered and dragged her off the track just as a moving train got within a very short distance of her body. The engine driver of this train, seeing the affair as he approached, endeavoured to stop, and as he was slackening speed a train which was following ran into his train, and the funnel of the engine in rear was knocked off, and other damages to the extent of about \$50 done. Both man and wife were arrested at the instance of the Grand Trunk authorities; and at the Police-court yesterday morning the magistrate committed the husband for trial, while he ordered that the wife be detained in gaol as a witness. Such acts as these are said to be of almost daily occurrence.—*Toronto Globe*.

EMIGRANTS IN CANADA.—The *Ottawa Free Press* of July 3 gives the following extraordinary account of emigrants recently arrived in that quarter: ‘During the past week 159 emigrants arrived in this city; ninety-two were passengers by the steamer “Crocodile,” fifty-five by the “Medway,” and twelve by the “Scandinavian.” They are mostly from London, England, and are called the London emigrants. They appear terribly dissatisfied at the state of affairs in Canada, and complain bitterly of having been inveigled into this country by promises of wages, such as \$14 per month for female general servants, and men’s wages in proportion. They are not the class of emigrants required for Canada. Although offered good wages every hour of the day, they will not go to the country and work for the farmers. The passengers by the “Crocodile” are especially hard to please,

and Mr. Willis has his own trouble with them. He sent five families up to Huntley last week. They were of a better class than those in town at present. Several smart-looking girls are now at the station; but they look for higher wages than they are likely to get in Canada, and complain bitterly of the false reports circulated in the papers of the old country. They will not think of working for less than \$16 per month in the city; and, as for working on a farm, they would not entertain the idea for a moment. The men are engaging on the railways, buildings, and other job-work in and around the city, and refuse to work on farms, so that the farmers are likely to be as hard up for workmen this season as they were last summer.'

There is yet one more test which is the most vital of all. Certain of Her Majesty's ships are specially charged with the duty of entering boys for the royal navy. Among them is the stationary flag ship in the Thames, which is the nearest rendezvous for candidates from the London district. The fitness of such candidates for the service is tested by examinations, the principal conditions of which are that the boys should be 'of sound constitution, not subject to fits, free from any physical defects or malformation, and able to read and write.' The result, during the last two years, is thus reported by Dr. Ord, staff surgeon to H.M.S. 'Fisgard,' who has been charged with this duty:—

Out of the total 5,567 candidates who appeared during these two years, 4,410 were dismissed as ineligible for the service, and the remaining 1,157 eventually entered the navy. Out of 1,000 candidates, this was equivalent to a ratio of 792 rejected against 208 accepted. Or, more familiarly, the rejections bore to the entries the ratio of 4 to 1. In other words, no fewer than five candidates were required to supply a single recruit.

The other places where boys are selected for the navy are Liverpool, Portsmouth, and Plymouth.

But what is the out-turn of the boys who are thus winnowed off from our town populations? In a paper submitted in March last to the Medical Director-General of the Navy, by Mr. Courtney, naval surgeon, the following statements occur:

We have now a vast number of men in the service who, in consequence of their having been for the most part selected from the lowest slums of the most populous towns in the kingdom, and the defective system of examination, are both morally and physically bad, so that they help to form that large class of persons who in all ships pass so much of their time either on the 'sick list' or the 'black list,' between which there has always appeared to be a strange mysterious kind of sympathy. The fruit is worthy of the blossoms. How can it be

otherwise? As truly as 'the raven doth not hatch a lark,' so certain may we be that sickly and vicious lads will not make good and tractable sailors. What we want are strong lads, selected from respectable sources, and examined on a totally different system; for such boys would not, as a rule, fail to make healthy and well-conducted men; and certainly they would be far better fitted for the purposes of war, for we may be sure that the best and most valiant soldiers and sailors have always been remarkable for a splendid physique, broad chests, and sound digestion, and have thus enjoyed a buoyancy of temperament and a fulness of vitality that has given them invincible energy and courage. A cowardly heart and a diffident spirit are often the simple results of a feeble constitution.

A reference to the medical statistical returns of the total naval force for the year 1867 (the last in my possession) shows that 130 per cent. of the total force were under medical treatment; that the average number of days' sickness to each man was 18; and that the ratio of men invalided was nearly 3 per cent. If we refer to certain special diseases which are considered the result of constitutional depravity, we find that there are 375 cases of phthisis, 399 of heart disease, 60 of scrofula, and 2,893 of debility. The above figures appear to indicate an excessive amount of sickness, especially when it is considered that all the sufferers were supposed to have been '*picked lives*,' and that the society of which they are, or were, a part, contains no old people, and no women or children, but is, as a rule, constituted of lads and young men varying from 15 to 35 years of age.

Contrast with this the state of the navy in the time of our fathers and grandfathers, as shown in the '*Memoirs of the Earl St. Vincent*.'

We there read that 'in the year 1800 the fleet before Ushant consisted of never less than twenty-four sail-of-the-line, besides frigates, sloops, &c.; their crews always exceeded 23,000 men, and were continually on board. Not only did no hospital ship, the attendant of former cruizes, accompany this, to receive the worst cases, but each ship was ordered to retain her own invalids on board as much as possible, instead of sending them to Plymouth and Portsmouth; and, what can scarcely be too often repeated, not one single fresh meal was served out to the fleet.' This fleet, so circumstanced, after blockading Brest for 121 days, arrived at Torbay in the month of November, and all hospital cases were ordered to be landed:—'Out of the whole fleet, the number of cases sufficiently serious for hospital care were sixteen!'

Mr. Courtney's complaint is that the

Recruiting is too much confined to the large towns. The recruiting officers are not required to travel in search of boys in other localities, nor is there much effort made to entice boys from the country districts.



The result is, that three-fourths of the boys who enter the navy are derived from London, Liverpool, and Manchester, and the remainder are for the most part obtained from other large towns. In order that some idea may be formed of the small number of country lads who join the service in the London district, it may be quite sufficient to state that out of 1,000 examined, only 3 or 4 stated that they had been engaged in agricultural pursuits. I submit that large towns are, as a rule, bad ground to work on. How bad London is as a source for obtaining boys is abundantly shown in an able article, written by Dr. Ord, staff-surgeon of H.M.S. 'Fisgard,' from which it appears that, out of 5,567 candidates who appeared during two years, 4,410 were dismissed as ineligible for the service. How bad Liverpool is, may be learned from the fact that I have hitherto rejected more than half of those who have passed a preliminary examination by the marine officer and the civil practitioner, before presenting themselves on board H.M.S. 'Resistance.'

We would recommend Mr. Courtney to examine the table of the population of twenty towns in the United Kingdom in our second article, and the Registrar-General's remarks upon it. He would then see the necessity of dismissing for ever his romantic vision of 'a bold peasantry their country's pride.' We are becoming more and more every year *a town population*; and, if 'hearts of oak' are wanted for the British navy, they must be sought, not by still further exhausting the diminishing population of our rural districts, but by adopting measures for improving the physically deteriorated and morally depraved population of our great towns.

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## V.

WHEN I made my first northern journey, nearly fifty years ago, I left London in the evening, and, after travelling the whole of that night, the whole of the following day, and the whole of the succeeding night, I found myself, on the morning of the third day, descending the hill at Gateshead, where, greatly to my astonishment, I saw a train of coal-waggons

going uphill without horses, drawn by a stationary engine; and, soon after, crossing the Tyne on the beautiful coaching bridge, which has lately been removed, I saw my first steamboat. The approach to Newcastle is a study of different states of society. First of all, there is the steep and narrow 'side' going from the river straight up the face of the hill, under the protection and control of the Castle (whence its name). Then comes the long but still steep ascent belonging to the mail coach era, which, in its time, was a great step in advance; and, last of all, we have the high level bridge, with its double roadway for steam and horse traction. There are some extremely curious houses on 'Sandhill,' at the foot of the 'side,' which ought to be religiously preserved as memorials of the past.

But our business now is, not with the past, but with the present and the future. As members of the Society for Organising Charitable Relief in the Metropolis, Mr. C. B. P. Bosanquet and myself had conducted a correspondence on the subject of the demand for labour in the North, and we wished to see the matter nearer at hand, and to converse with those who were immediately concerned. After fully conferring with Mr. C. S. Smith, the zealous and intelligent Honorary Secretary to the Newcastle Mendicity Society, we called on Mr. Harrison and Mr. Hodgson, Engineers of the North-Eastern Railway system and of many other works. These gentlemen gave us, in few words, the sum of all we afterwards heard. They said that they wanted, not only large numbers of unskilled labourers for earthworks, but masons, bricklayers, and carpenters for the structural parts; and that the progress of each of the following works under their superintendence, was more or less obstructed for want of sufficient supplies of labour:—the new railway between Pelaw and Jarrow, the Team Valley Extension, the Saltburn Extension, the new railway between Gilling and Helmsley, Yorkshire, and the Middlesborough Docks; and to this may be added the Settle and Carlisle Railway, the contractor for which has advertised for a thousand labourers. Messrs. Harrison and Hodgson said that they did not know what was become of the labour, and that they did not think that it was in the country, for they had in vain raised the wages of their plate-layers a shilling a day, and their contractors were giving even their unskilled labourers 3s. 6d. a day. We replied that we could, to a great extent, account for its disappearance, for it had been absorbed by London and other great towns, where



it was held in a state of unnatural congestion by many deteriorating influences, of which a misdirected system of charity is the most powerful.

Our next visits were paid to Mr. Mitchell's Iron Shipbuilding establishment on the Lower Tyne, Sir William Armstrong's Ordnance and Civil Engineering Works at Elswick, and the Consett Iron Company's Works in the county of Durham. I cannot sufficiently express my admiration of the magnificent class of merchant and passenger steamers which we saw, in various stages of progress, in Mr. Mitchell's yard. The plates, angle-irons, and other materials are received by him ready-made; while it is the specialty of the Consett Company to prepare these materials, from the hæmatite and ironstone to the finished plates and bars. These represent two distinct categories of iron-works on the Tyne; but they are combined in Mr. Palmer's great establishment at Jarrow. Sir William Armstrong is divided between the works of war and those of peace; and we could not help hoping that what is now going on in Alsace and Lorraine will eventually lead to the extension of his civil-engineering department, at the expense of the monster instruments of destruction which look as if they were the obsolete memorials of a barbaric age. There was a general coincidence in the information we received at these three works. The first class of skilled workmen earn from ten to fifteen shillings a day. In Mr. Mitchell's establishment, as in all other shipbuilding yards, a large number of carpenters are employed, who are a well-paid and very respectable class of workmen. The heavy work, which does not require much skill, is done to a great extent by Irish. In Mr. Mitchell's yard the plate-carriers are nearly all Irish, and earn from 20s. to 30s. a week by piecework. Of 3,000 workmen employed at Consett, nearly half, including a majority of the puddlers, are Irish; and it was satisfactory to hear that, under the influence of regular work and civilising surroundings, they had become more orderly, and had improved in their personal character and habits.

We had a delightful lesson in geography up the beautiful valley of the Derwent, and so, by Witton-le-Wear, to Raby Castle. I discovered that Raby Castle is not in Cleveland, though, having a distant view of the Cleveland hills, the ancestor of the present Duke adopted that title. This is the charm of England. Standing in the 'Baron's Hall,' here the Nevilles feasted the 700 knights who held of their

family, or looking at the grand marble tomb, in Staindrop church, of Ralph Neville lying between his two wives, Margaret, daughter of Hugh Earl of Stafford, and Joan, daughter of John of Gaunt and Catherine Swinford, who could imagine himself on the border-land between the coal and iron district! 'Peace has her triumphs not less renowned than war.' The descendants of our good patriots, Sir Harry Vane the elder and younger, are installed at Raby; but the real representatives of the Nevilles, in the present generation, are the Peases, the Elliots, the Bolckows, the Palmers. Territorial possessions and political power are passing into their hands; and justly so, for they have done more for the North of England than ever was accomplished by Neville, Clifford, or Percy.

Cleveland is composed of scattered hills varied with charming dales; and the hills contain a seam of ironstone about eleven feet thick, containing from 30 to 34 per cent. of iron in a matrix of clay. We thoroughly investigated Mr. J. W. Pease's Upleatham Works, as a fair specimen of the whole. This is an isolated oblong hill, the northern face of which overlooks the sea. On the southern side is the Earl of Zetland's beautiful seat, Upleatham Hall; and his woods and pleasure-grounds overspread the hill. But woods and fields must all submit to a descent of several feet, for Mr. Pease has girdled the hill, and driven a gallery through it, and the interior is honeycombed in every direction, leaving a roof of less than three feet, which is uniformly separated from the rest of the stratum by a narrow sulphur band; so that, in less than forty years, the entire seam of ironstone will be extracted, and the hill, with all the Earl's woods upon it, will subside to that extent. As there are no other heights in the immediate neighbourhood to compare with it, no one will miss the loss of a few feet; and Mr. Pease has contracted to restore the surface to a state fit for agriculture, and to make it all look as well as ever. The other Cleveland hills have their peaceful Nevilles and Percies, under the modern designations of 'Attwood,' 'Lowthian Bell,' 'Bolckow and Vaughan,' &c.; and the vast supplies of ironstone raised by them are reduced to a marketable state at the local capital of Middlesborough, the reality of the sudden growth of which beats all the imaginary creations of the Arabian Nights.

But what is the effect of all this upon the labour market, and consequently upon the well-being of the people? These great industries are as much a new growth as the settlements

in the backwoods of America. Thirty years ago the iron shipbuilding yards on the Tyne, the ironstone mines in Cleveland, and numerous furnaces and rolling mills at Middlesborough, Consett, Jarrow, and many other places in Northumberland, Durham, and the northern part of Yorkshire, had no existence, while the complex network of railways subsidiary to these works and still in progress, is, of course, a yet later creation. The alkali manufactories on the Tyne, which employ a great amount of unskilled labour, have multiplied of late years to a degree which is equivalent to a new creation. Although Clydesdale is still advancing, Tynedale is perhaps going faster ahead; for coal and iron are so abundant there, that even Glasgow firms are forming establishments on the Tyne in order to profit by the cheapness of the materials of manufacture. In consequence of this continuous growth, the demand for labour keeps well ahead of the supply. Under the *régime* of the mosstroopers and the wardens of the marches, the northern counties were thinly inhabited, and the native population was utterly unequal to the requirements of these imported industries. Hence the great influx of workmen from the South and West of England and from Ireland; and, even so, the supply does not keep pace with the demand. Wages have consequently risen to a very high rate. I do not say that they are too high, but there is a general concurrence of opinion that they are higher than is consistent with the existing moral and intellectual state of great numbers of the workpeople. Their material circumstances have outstripped their mental condition, and they do not know how to profit by their novel state of ease and abundance. We were constantly met by expressions of this sort, 'The work is never so well done when wages are high. The men drink more, work shorter time, and do less piece work.' Where the pay day is on Friday, a large proportion of the men are absent on Saturday and Monday; and, where it is on Saturday, regular attendance cannot be calculated on until Wednesday. Their whole scheme and plan of life is pitched far too low; intellectual tastes they have none; neither are they sensible of the duty and advantage of providing for the future. Therefore, when they have made enough for sensual enjoyment, they stop work until they have spent it in debauchery.

Nevertheless, it is delightful to see the prevailing well-being. The stalwart Northumbrian, the broadchested Yorkshireman, the brawny Irishman are all in first-rate physical condition. This is a great present good, and is also full of



promise for the future. The women and children are well fed and well clothed; and the contrast between the necessary grimy appearance of the men and the neatness of their wives and daughters is very striking. There is also an obvious effort to keep the children clean; and, when I once ventured to remark upon a child's dirty face, the mother replied, 'Sir, if he was to be always clean, I should be washing him all day.' The houses provided by the Consett Company for their workmen, and by Mr. Pease for his miners, left nothing to be desired; and they are fully appreciated by the occupants, for they are pictures of neatness. Finding two rooms unoccupied in one of them, I asked the young matron why she did not take in a lodger, to which she replied, with a smile, that she and her husband preferred not to do so. They had only lately married. Ball-courts, cricket-fields, reading-rooms, savings' banks, and excellent schools are provided, and a certain liberal supervision is exercised over the younger men. When we were going the round of Mr. Pease's village, we found a young man, to all appearance, sitting doing nothing in one of the houses. The manager asked him whether he was sick, to which he replied that he was, 'sick of love.' The excuse was at once admitted, for there was more than one young woman in the room with whom any young man might have fallen in love. There is more than enough in all this to account for the improvement of the Irish population of Consett in civilisation. The sensual indulgence previously alluded to is, we may hope, already an exception to the general rule; and it must gradually disappear before the growth of moral habits and intellectual tastes. It was pleasant to see that the liquor generally used for supplying the exhaustion caused by the heavy labour in connection with the furnaces at Consett was ginger beer, which is made on the spot in a wholesale way.

We inquired at all these establishments what effect the war had had on them. In the iron ship-building yards the first result had been to make all the orders already given urgent; so anxious are shipowners to make the most of the present high rates of freight. The demand for iron plates and angle-irons—the materials of iron-ship building—had been increased from the same cause. But, as regarded the general industry of the iron mines and iron works we could not find that the war had made any actual difference, though of course there was no want of conjecture as to what the

ulterior consequences were likely to be. The German cause was the favourite one with all classes, partly because the trade of those parts is more connected with Germany than with France (two French gun-boats had been sighted off Hartlepool and Tynemouth), but chiefly because the contest is between German popular government and French imperialism.

In my next I will enter more into detail as to the nature and extent of the demand for labour in the North of England, and will make some observations upon the influence which it is capable of exercising upon London pauperism.

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## VI.

AFTER explaining the causes which have led to the present demand for labour in the North of England, I promised to show its nature and extent. Two disturbing influences interfered for a time with the steady growth of this prosperity. The pitmen and miners, relying too much on its uninterrupted continuance, struck for higher wages; and upon the strike came the financial and commercial collapse ushered in by Overend, Gurney's failure. These counteracting influences having now exhausted themselves, the normal causes have begun to act again with even increased force. Suspended orders have to be satisfied, and accumulated savings to be profitably invested, while the high rates of wages and Mr. Dale's Darlington Board of Arbitration have, for the present, banished all fear of the recurrence of serious difficulties between master and workmen. This will diminish the surprise with which the replies to the circular issued by Mr. C. S. Smith, from the Charity Office at Newcastle, at the request of the London Charity Organisation Society, would otherwise have been regarded. Those replies are given, in a tabulated form, word for word as they were received.

Address	How many men are likely to be wanted this year, and of what class	When they are wanted
Allhusen and Sons, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	We employ about 1,300 men in all, who are chiefly plumbers, millwrights, joiners, masons, blacksmiths, furnacemen, and labourers.	We employ our men all the year round; but new engagements must from time to time be made to fill up the vacancies which must constantly occur amongst so large a body of men.
John Middleton, Bedlington Collieries, Northumberland.	Want 100 coal hewers, but will obtain them in this district.	Immediately.
Black, Hawthorn and Co., Engineers, &c., Gateshead.	We are increasing our number at an average of two per week. The different classes we employ are:—Pattern-makers, fitters, boiler-makers, blacksmiths, labourers, &c.	
A. Goold and Co., Bilson and Crump Meadow Collieries.	There is no spare labour whatever in this district; on the contrary, according to my experience, there is a great absence of skilled workmen, arising from the fact that a number of the best hands have emigrated.	
Strakers and Love (William Wood, Manager), Brancepeth Colliery, Willington, Durham.	Wanted at present ten or twelve strong labourers for filling coke trucks in our coke yards; must not be less than 5ft. 6in. or 5ft. 8in., unless very powerful men.	Immediately, and for Brandon Colliery Coke Works, near Durham.
W. Jenkins, General Manager, Consett Iron Company, Durham.	So far as we can now judge, we would employ 120 to 150 additional pitmen, and keep them at full work over this year. We could also take from 40 to 50 puddlers or underhands or assistant puddlers.	It would suit us to take the pitmen in batches of about 20 or so per week. As to puddlers or underhand puddlers, these might be put on in batches of about 10 or 12 per week.



What wages	How long employment can be guaranteed	Remarks
<p>Millwrights, 4s. 8d.; joiners, 4s. 6d.; masons, 5s.; furnacemen, from 4s. 6d. to 4s. 10d.; blacksmiths, 4s. 4d.; bricklayers, 4s. 8d.; and labourers from 16s. upwards.</p>	<p>Men are engaged by the fortnight. Some good men remain with us for many years, but unsatisfactory characters and extra hands are discharged when their services can be dispensed with.</p>	<p>We would suggest that the names and qualifications of men in want of employment be furnished to the employers of labour who have frequently vacancies to supply.</p>
<p>Piece work, earnings 5s. 6d. to 6s. a-day.</p>	<p>Don't give any guarantee; receive or give one month's notice to quit.</p>	
<p>Skilled workmen, 24s. to 30s. per week; do, by piece work, from 30s. to 50s. Apprentices 4s. to 12s. per week. Labourers from 17s. to 20s.</p>		
<p>Good men can make easily 4s. 6d. a-day; average from 3s. 6d. to 4s.</p>	<p>Twelve months.</p>	<p>We have had 32 men from East London. With the exception of 3 or 4 they are utterly useless for the work. No comparison between them and our ordinary hands. Men from Bucks, Bedford, and Cumberland we have got are doing well. Please say if you can supply the above hands.</p>
<p>The wages of the pitmen would vary from 4s. to 6s., and in some cases 6s. 6d. per day, according to the skill and power of the workman. Puddlers could earn, if good men, 8s. to 9s. per day. Under hands, young men of from 16 to 25, could earn from 18s. to 21s. per week.</p>	<p>We could not well bind ourselves to guarantee them permanent employment, but the present prospects are that all would certainly be kept at work for the whole of this year at the least.</p>	<p>For pitmen, we should, of course, prefer men accustomed to underground work, but strong and healthy young men might well be employed in our pits. By puddlers we mean men well trained to their work. For underhands any able-bodied young men of from 16 to 25 would suit, and by-and-bye these young men might with a little industry and steadiness become puddlers, earning from 8s. to 9s. per day.</p>

Address	How many men are likely to be wanted this year, and of what class	When they are wanted
Thos. Clarke and Co., Elswick Marine Engine Works, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	Generally work for good men, number uncertain,—fitters, machinists, foundrymen, blacksmiths, and smiths' labourers.	Can take two or three good fitters at any time.
Losh, Wilson, and Bell, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	We could take a few dozen steady men on at general labouring work in the next two months.	Part this month and part next.
J. Lowthian Bell, The Hall, Washington, Durham.	We could take a number of men at Tinsdale Colliery capable of hewing coal. If you can help us to these we should be glad to afford them employment.	
Lustrum Iron Works, Stockton-on-Tees.	It is quite impossible for us to say how many men we may require. At present, having been slack, we have but few (about thirty). Before the end of the year we may have 150.	
S. Richardson, Merrybent Mining Company, 6, Paradise row, Darlington.	One hundred.	Four per week until the end of the year.
C. Mitchell and Co., Newcastle-on-Tyne.	It being difficult to answer categorically the questions as put, we beg to say that employment being plentiful in this district, men are very capricious and continually changing. We could, therefore, in a few weeks find room for say 100 workers of the various classes employed in iron ship-building.	
Fox, Head and Co., Newport Rolling Mills, Middlesborough.	Say twenty strong active lads of 15 to 18 years of age.	In four lots of five each.
Jones, Dunning and Co., Normanby Iron Works, Middlesborough.	We are at present full, but have considerable difficulty in getting the men to work full time.	

What wages	How long employment can be guaranteed	Remarks
According to merit—average 24s.	Uncertain.	
15s. to 18s. per week, according to their ability.	Labour is somewhat scarce here at present, but nevertheless we would not bind ourselves to find a man work, as he might not suit us.	
3s. to 4s. 6d. per day.	As long as the iron trade keeps good.	The men wanted are quarrymen and labourers used to heavy work, such as loading stones into trucks.
The wages of skilled workmen vary from 20s. to 30s. per week, and labourers from 15s. to 18s., when working on time, which, however, is quite an exception. When working on piece, their average wages are 50 per cent. higher than the above, and good workmen make double their time wages.	We would guarantee six months' work to good, steady workmen.	And we consider that if such an organisation as is proposed could be carried out, it would very much promote the equalisation of labour throughout the country, and be of equal benefit to employers and employed.
2s. to 3s. per shaft.	Any length of time if they worked well.	They would be required as underhand puddlers, and would be put to learn with puddlers. By the age of 21 they would become forehands, and could then, if steady, earn from 40s. to 50s. per week clear.
Our average wages amount to about 28s. 4d. per week per man.	We have constant employment for all our men.	A great number of men are wanted in this district, particularly puddlers and miners.

Address	How many men are likely to be wanted this year, and of what class	When they are wanted
T. R. Oswald, Pallion, Sunderland.	50 for shipyard } As 100 for rolling mills } labourers, 50 for fitting shops } good men.	Some at once; others at three months' time.
W. R. Pape, 36, Westgate street, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	Four skilled workmen for action-filling, wages 40s. to 50s. per week. General jobbing men 30s. per week.	Immediately.
Eckersley and Bayliss. William Mousley, Chief Agent. Contractor's Office, Scotby, near Carlisle (Carlisle and Settle Railway).	We can give immediate employment to 500 navvies and labourers; and a further number of 500 can find employment in a month or two.	
Shildon Works Company. W. Snaith, Cashier. N.E. Railway Locomotive Department, Darlington Section, Darlington.	Fitters, smiths, boiler } 20 smiths. . . . } Waggon wrights . . . 20 Labourers . . . . 30 Total . . . . 70	Immediately.
Sampson Langdale, Chemical Works, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	200 to 400 strong able-bodied men.	In December, 1870, and January, 1871.
H. Wrightson and Co., Teesdale Iron Works, Stockton-on-Tees.	At the present time we are pretty well supplied with men, but we can generally (and could now) find room for some good moulders and bridge or boiler makers, also labourers.	We are likely to be busy during the whole of this autumn, and want as many men <i>now</i> as we are likely to do during the next few months.
Wallsend Cement Company. Francis Smith, Managing Director, 2, Lombard Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	Ten labourers, those only who have worked in cement manufactories.	
West Stockton Iron Company. William Prosser, Stockton-on-Tees.	We could take 20 young men, say from 16 to 18 years of age, of the strong labouring class, to make underhand puddlers.	Could all be taken on in about two months, say two or three weekly.
J. Wigham Richardson and Co., Newcastle-on-Tyne.	Twenty labourers to help in an iron ship yard; six blacksmiths and strikers.	Labourers at once, and blacksmiths later on a little.



What wages	How long employment can be guaranteed	Remarks
15s. to 17s., ship yard; 15s. to 20s., rolling mills; 18s. to 20s., fitting shops.	Six months in advance.	We already have a large number on, but are generally short supplied with ordinary labourers.
40s. to 50s.	Five years; agreement, if required, to find constant employ.	I don't think any class of men will apply for tramps, as I never found anything but worthless men on tramp.
Wages average from 3s. to 3s. 6d. per day.	Two years.	We enclose one of our bills now being posted about the country, which will give all further information.
Fitters, smiths, and boiler smiths, 4d. to 5½d. per hour; waggon wrights, 4d. to 5d. per hour; labourers, 3d. to 3½d. per hour.	Twelve months at least.	
18s. to 24s. per week.	Constant employment if good, steady, industrious men.	The men being required for work in a chemical manufactory, it will be of no use sending men from the Thames, or similar places, whose constitutions are broken, and the men enfeebled by dissipation and excesses of all kinds.
Our wages are about 27s. to 28s. per week, but we do most of our work by 'piece.'	We could not guarantee employment, but if the men are steady and good workmen, we should be able to employ them for several months.	
The minimum is 18s. per week; but 'piece work' would be given, for which the wages usually earned range from 23s. to 30s. per week.	If the men gave satisfaction, they would be regularly employed; but we would not continue to employ them if they proved to be indifferent workmen.	
From 3s. 3d. to 3s. 6d. per diem.	Constant employment.	The young men must be fairly robust, as they would work night and day alternate weeks. Eventually, after two or three years' service, they would earn from 35s. to 50s. weekly.
Labourers, 16s. to 20s. per week, according to ability; blacksmiths, 27s. to 28s., ditto; strikers, 17s. to 18s., ditto.	As long as they behave properly, at least for a year or two.	

And all this in addition to the skilled and unskilled labour required by Messrs. Harrison & Hodgson, or their contractors, alluded to in our last article, and by numerous other establishments from which no answers were received.

Those who lately urged Parliament to employ the produce of the taxes in sending away the bone and sinew of the country, cannot have been aware of this state of things. This great *home* demand is not confined to any particular class of labour. The artisans in the iron-ship-building yards at the East-end, who threw themselves out of work, and initiated the poor law and charity pauperisation which has disgraced that part of London, and their more numerous unskilled assistants who were thrown out of work by them, could all be absorbed without sensibly diminishing the demand. The men in the 'building trades' in London, who complain of being out of work in the winter, could find employment in a district where the work goes on all the year round. But the most blessed result of all would be the depletion of our southern and western counties of that excess of agricultural labour, which, with the exception of Cornwall,\* has reduced their population to a state of virtual serfdom. Those who read the answers to Mr. Smith's circular cannot fail to be struck with the great demand for *unskilled* labour in the iron and coal mines, the coking and chemical works, the iron works, the ship-building yards, and the railway works of the North. The only qualification required is sound health and readiness to work; and, by entering as 'underhands' in the iron works and ship-building yards, young men would soon rise to a rate of wage, which, with ordinary prudence, would place them in an independent position for life. The addresses of the managers of the different works have been given in order that those who wish to obtain employment in the North, or their friends for them, may enter into direct communication with the works which they prefer. Instead of

\* Mr. Bolitho's answer to Mr. Smith's circular was as follows: 'Penzance, July 25, 1870. There are many *infirm* men out of employment, but of good miners—such as would suit your purpose—there is a scarcity. Emigration has carried off all the good men, leaving the drones.' Nothing can be more honourable to the Cornishmen than their determination not to lose their independence of position and character. When their mining industry failed, owing to the competition of foreign mines, the young men set out in batches to the countries from which the competition came; and so many of them have returned with little fortunes, that, although Cornish tin is looking up again, the emigration continues. But it is not everybody who could succeed in the mines of Mexico and Peru as Cornishmen have done.

the large sums required for passages to Canada or Australia, from ten shillings to a pound will suffice for the expenses of this home migration ; and, if an advance is required, it will generally be given where good testimonials to character and ability are forthcoming. London would be as much benefited as the country by the transfer of the surplus agricultural labour to the industrial establishments of the North, for it is the constant influx of this surplus which swamps the labour market of London, and throws the unemployed population upon the poor rate and charity.

This 'Labour Return' has extended to such great length that we must reserve for our next number the remarks we have to make upon the special bearing of the subject upon London.

## VII.

MR. J. W. PEASE, writing lately to the Secretary of the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Charity Committee, said:—

I am sorry to hear that your London men have turned out badly. Three out of three hundred and twenty turned out badly with us; but our manager says that, on the whole, a finer lot of men he never saw. They settled well to work after they found that the charity, which they seemed to have received in London in such abundance, was not to be had, and that it was ‘hard work and plenty of pay.’

A month ago ‘upwards of seventy of the men had gone inside’—that is, they had left the easier work outside with which they were at first indulged, and had accepted the hard work and high pay inside the mine.

The principal object we had in view in visiting the Cleveland district was to find out what Mr. Pease’s secret was, and this we are able to tell in his own words:—

You ask me about the men we have received from London. I hand you, in the first place, a copy of our rules and regulations under which our men are hired. They were very carefully drawn, and we have been complimented upon them by one or two of the county court judges. Every man who enters our employment receives a copy of these rules, and he signs the duplicate in the office. I enclose you a copy of the instructions to Mr. Watson, of East London, who hired these men for us. Our manager, Mr. Cockburn, tells me that the rule he acts upon is to pay what you promise, and to promise nothing which you cannot frankly and honestly carry out.

We have paid the passage-money for 502; but the fact of our obtaining men induced many others to come into the district of their own accord. You will see that we stipulated with them, that, unless they stayed with us twelve months, on leaving they were to refund the money, which was, I believe, 7s. 6d., and 3s. 6d. in their hands for provisions. There are at work in the mines now about 310 or 312 of these men; consequently we have lost about 190 of those brought down, of whom only one has not returned his passage-money. They were, first of all, set to common earthwork; either filling up the places damaged by the workings, so as to restore the ground for agricultural use, or baring ironstone by removing the superincumbent earth from off it. The price paid to them was that which we were paying to



others—6*d.* a yard. We have had it done as low as 4½*d.* per yard. The men's earnings average from 3*s.* 4*d.* to 5*s.* 6*d.* a day. We gave the new hands a 'subsist' (advance of pay for subsistence) of from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* 4*d.* After a week or two sixty of these men went into the mine. They had either been at similar work before, or had been at tunneling for the Metropolitan Railway Company. Those who went inside had their 'subsist' increased to 5*s.* a day; and if they had not earned it by pay-day, as they were new hands, we were not very particular about it. There are now 154 in the mines entirely on their own hook, receiving no extra wages, but taking their regular place with the other men. Those who did not like the work left it. Some are at work in the district around.

On going through the mines the other day I spoke to a man who came from Oxfordshire. He said he had never before earned more than 1*s.* 9*d.* He was now averaging 4*s.* 9*d.* His mate came with him, but had gone back to Oxfordshire 'because his wife was there.' I asked him why he had not brought his wife with him. He said, 'because the man could not find a house.' I said, 'I suppose he found the work rather harder than the Oxfordshire work.' He laughed and said, 'There is some truth in that.' There is no doubt that there is a scarcity of houses. At the same time many of the men have brought their wives with them, and have obtained houses: and we have bought a stock of furniture of a suitable kind with which we are helping them out, and they pay for it out of their wages, so much a week, as they can afford.

We spoke to many of the London men, both in and out of the mines. They seemed contented, and even pleased with their present position. There is reason to believe that not a dozen men have gone back to London of those who were originally engaged by Mr. Pease, the great majority of those who have left the mines having taken other employment in the neighbourhood. Where there is plenty of work at good wages, both above and below ground, men may be excused for exercising a choice. The Londoners we conversed with had a strong impression of the difficulty of inducing 'a regular Cockney' to follow their example. One said, 'All the engines on the Thames Embankment works would not drag them out of London;' and another, 'They had rather clam in London than live on good beef and mutton anywhere else.' On the other hand, the persons requiring labour must have reasonable confidence that the right men will be sent to them. The key to Mr. Pease's success is that his London men were selected by an agent of his own in London, who knew what sort of men he wanted, and was able to explain to the men what their prospects were. The instructions to the agent will be found at the end of this article. Most large estab-

lishments have confidential persons in London whom they can employ for such a purpose; and builders and others in the North of England, whose work is almost at a standstill because they cannot get even ordinary hodmen to supply their skilled hands, would do well to make a similar arrangement. The same person might with great advantage act as agent for several employers of labour.

How much the success of any plan for the migration of labour depends upon the original selection will be seen from the following letters from Mr. Jenkins, the able and enlightened manager of the Consett Company's Works:—

Consett, July 12, 1870.

I have had some very discouraging experience in the introduction of strangers to these works. Still this in no way alters my belief as to the desirability of transferring workmen from the places where they are abundant, to works where hands are scarce. On Tuesday last I got from Staffordshire nineteen puddlers and thirty-six pitmen, in all fifty-five men. These were obtained for me by an agent for this kind of work, who, though I had strong suspicion of his character, would not, I thought, have sent me such a complete lot of vagabonds. We paid the men's fare from Bilston here, we fed them and found lodgings for them on the night of their arrival, and all promised fairly for a good start in a day or two afterwards. From the appearance of the men, I must say, they did not look like steady, good workmen. However, to cut this short, I will say that three-fourths of them have absconded, and are very likely prowling about the workhouses, deceiving parish officers all over the district. The bulk of them had signed agreements for going on with the work, and many of them actually commenced work, and received a small trifle in cash on account of their work; but the cash soon led them to the beershops, at which they remained, and finally skulked away. I repeat all this to show you how difficult it is to deal with these men; and also to show you that, if workmen are to be removed at all, regard should be had to the careful selection of tolerably steady men, willing to work for the current prices. In the above case I have simply been deceived. I fell among thieves, and must just do the best I can. I have had summonses issued for the apprehension of some of these defaulters, to show those who remain that we are not to be so treated with impunity; but, even if the men are taken and punished, I fear there will be little good done.

The lesson given us last week will make us very cautious as to advancing money for the conveyance of men; but we are willing to do this if we have a reasonable assurance that the men (say from Cornwall) are likely to be steady, and to remain with us, say for six months. The same will apply to pitmen, as to young men for the puddling; and further, what we think ought to be a temptation is, that, besides assisting them to come here, deducting fortnightly from their wages the expense of such assistance, we should, in the event of their remaining six months,

refund to them the cost of the removal so charged to their accounts. However this is done, you must see that some risk must be taken by some one. Cornishmen, we think, would suit us very well for our pits, and young Cornishmen, of from sixteen to twenty-five, would suit us as underhands in the puddling. Have you observed the great scarcity of work for colliers in the forest of Dean, Gloucestershire? These pitmen would suit us well, but we are too full with our daily business, just now, to tout about for them. If you have machinery in motion for this work, pray see whether it is worth your while to look out for Cornishmen or Forest of Dean men for places like ours where workmen are so scarce.

Consett, July 14, 1870.

Our hope is to have a careful selection of men made, adapted to the work we have to give them. For pitmen here, where work is abundant and well-paid, we should try and get ready-made pitmen from districts where work is scarce and wages low, as appears to be the case now in Gloucestershire. The same also with regard to puddlers. We do not, however, expect to get many ready-made puddlers, as the demand is so very great; but young men of from sixteen to twenty-five, able-bodied and disposed to work, might do well, and would suit us well to begin as underhands, and to learn their business.

This last suggestion is full of promise to all concerned. Young men who are unmarried, or have only recently married, can easily move, and readily apply themselves to new kinds of work; and, after a short probation, they often become better workmen than older hands. 'Puddling' (for which no machinery has been invented to supersede the human hand) is no doubt hard work, but it is far from being unhealthy. An experienced manager once told me that he had never seen a dead puddler. After a few years puddlers go to other lighter kinds of labour. This is, however, only one class of highly paid labour. The skilled workmen in the iron ship-building yards, for instance, get still higher wages, and there is nothing in that work which an intelligent, willing young man, either from town or country, could not soon learn.

In rural districts, where the character and circumstances of every person are well known, clergymen, country gentlemen, and others may with advantage act as intermediaries; but in large towns, and especially in London, no detailed charitable organisation has yet been established able to cope with the prevailing mendicant habits. Therefore, instead of trusting to charitable societies, employers of labour should select their men from large towns through authorised agents, who would know, from their own experience, whether the candidates for employment would be likely to turn out

useful workmen. But they should not expect too much. The morality and physique of the lower orders in our large towns are at a low ebb, while, on the other hand, they are extremely intelligent. With good food and regular work, they would rapidly improve. In the cotton famine the question arose whether factory hands, not accustomed to outdoor work, would be able to earn enough on the public works to support their families without further help; but experience showed that two months' training at out-door work so strengthened their frames and improved their skill, that they could earn at piece-work enough to support their families without undue exertion. Owing to the overcrowding, the vitiated air, the stimulating unnourishing food obtained from the cook-shops, and the other unwholesome conditions of living in great towns, a high standard of work is not to be expected there; but a great change for the better is often brought about by the substantial fare and the atmosphere of labour of the North. The manner in which Mr. Cockburn, who manages the Upleatham and Hobhill Mines for Mr. Pease, bears with his London recruits, and trains them by degrees to harder kinds of work, is deserving of all praise. It is essential that, when men have families, their wives and children should go with them to the North; and this ought always to be enquired into and arranged for before the men are engaged. Another indispensable arrangement which governs the whole subject, is the provision of proper houses for the workmen and their families; for, without this, there can be neither health nor morality. Still less can there be any aspiration after a more refined and intellectual state. As the rapid growth of the population in these northern parts is entirely due to the demands of the great industrial works, the proprietors of those works are under the double obligation of duty and interest to see that proper arrangements are made for housing their workpeople.

The object is to decentralise the congested masses of labour in our large towns, and to prevent their further accretion by directing the streams of fresh labour from the rural districts to the hives of industry in the North. Our greatest obstacle is the mistaken charity of which London, and especially the east of London, is the centre. While the 'Friends' at Darlington are training our people by the discipline of honest labour, another set of 'Friends' in London (equally benevolent, but sadly mistaken) are corrupting them by indiscriminate



charity. There is a place at the East-end called the 'Bedford Institute,' at which from 150 to 200 grown-up men are fed upon bread and butter and coffee, every Sunday morning, besides occasional 'breakfast meetings' on other days, after which they sing a hymn and join in other religious exercises. There is also a liberal distribution of tickets for tea, bread, coals, &c., besides large issues of nourishing food of various kinds from the 'Invalid Kitchen,' and daily dinners of soup or pudding for the children. This is only a single example of the concentration of misdirected charity from many and various quarters on this unfortunate district of London. The Report of the Bedford Institute complains that 'a large portion of the population of the East of London is in a state of chronic pauperism.' With such treatment how can it be otherwise? And how is it possible that this pauper population can disperse and betake itself to self-supporting industry, if such inducements are held out to it to cling to the East of London?

*Instructions to Mr. Watson, East London Contractor's Office,  
Rotherhithe, London.*

1st. All men engaged must be strong able-bodied men, competent to use a pick and shovel.

2nd. Their wages will be paid once a fortnight. Piecemen will obtain an advance, or 'subsist,' at the rate of 3s. 4d. per day. The hours are as specified in the rules—summer, from six in the morning to six at night—winter, seven till five. Every man will be subject to the rules and regulations in force in the mines or quarries.

3rd. The quarrymen and barers generally earn from 3s. 4d. to 4s. 6d. or 4s. 9d.; labourers from 2s. 10d. to 3s. 4d., according to age and ability.

4th. The passage of the men will be paid down to the mines, and we will make provision for lodgings for them. If they leave the Company's employment within twelve months, their passage money will be deducted from their earnings.

5th. The men who are engaged will be sent by steamer to Middlesborough, and thence by rail to their several destinations, some one being appointed to meet them at Middlesborough.

6th. The number per week must not exceed twelve good barers or quarrymen. We shall want at least 250 of these.

7th. These men can earn by piece as before stated. The price per yard is from 4½d. to 6½d., and even more sometimes.

8th. The men should always be sent by the Saturday's boat.

9th. All the men's names should be furnished to the managers at the mines before they are sent off, and their names should also be entered in a book in the Agent's office.

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